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Out of the mouths of young learners: An ethical response to occluded classroom practices in researcher initiated role play

Keywords: ethics, young learners, occluded classroom practices, observer's paradox, ethnographic methods

Abstract

Conducting research into young learner experiences of school poses methodological challenges which are compounded when, as is increasingly the case, the classroom interaction is multilingual and the research methods are participatory (Maguire 2005; Pinter 2014). Each new or adapted method sheds further light on the issues that can arise. Researcher Initiated Role Play (Yaacob and Gardner 2012) is a method where a researcher invites a group of children to engage in role play, something that many young children do spontaneously. This gives children the interactional space to take control of the specifics of the role play and to present their perspectives and concerns through multiple semiotic layers.

This paper explores ethical issues that arise when role play reveals familiar but occluded practices; practices that are not readily presented to outsiders. Specifically, when this Researcher Initiated Role Play was used to explore how children in their first years of school learn to read in different languages and in different multilingual, primary school contexts, certain occluded disciplinary practices were revealed. This paper considers the nature of an ethical response to such revelations.

At the ethical core of researching with children …
are issues of equity, inclusion and exclusion
and who gets to speak after all
and whose voices are heard, recognized or silenced
– notwithstanding in what language. (Maguire 2005:11)

Introduction

When a study of literacy practices using traditional ethnographic methods of observation and interview was providing thin data on learner perspectives, it was decided to build on Gregory's research (e.g. 2005) on siblings at home spontaneously playing school and develop a method whereby the researcher would invite children to role play a literacy lesson. To emphasise the contrast both with children's voluntary socio-dramatic play at home or in the playground, and with the more formal pedagogic use of role play by teachers in the classroom, this was called Researcher Initiated Role Play. This involves the researcher prompting children to engage in a specific role play with the intention of accessing children's perspectives on the area of research interest. Evidence from the role plays could then be triangulated with data from other sources. This worked well and rich insights were gained about the literacy practices in different languages, scripts and contexts being studied (Yaacob and Gardner 2012). Researcher Initiated Role Play (RIRP) was successful in eliciting young learner perspectives on the nature of literacy lessons, how they should be conducted and the

features of the class to which learners pay attention (e.g. the teacher's voice, the position of the book, the sequence of events, the bell). Because the children are acting, the insights go beyond what they can articulate and allow children to demonstrate through actions and interactions with others and with teaching materials in contexts. When permission is granted to record the role plays, they can be reviewed (on screen or through transcripts) and discussion with learners or teachers of their value and representativeness (the children are playing) provides further layers of useful data.

This paper will first briefly describe RIRP as a research method, then provide a specific example of procedures and data collection in one study. Extracts from the role play are described, and subsequent discussion focuses on the relevance of the observer's paradox and occluded practices to RIRP. The final sections address questions designed to explore the nature of an ethical response to revelations of occluded practices in RIRP.

Researcher Initiated Role Play

Researcher initiated role play is a method of eliciting the perspectives of participants on a specific practice that involves the researcher inviting a group of participants to act out (role play) a specific practice with which they are familiar.

RIRP is particularly appropriate for use with young learners for several reasons. First, it is around age 6-8 that sociodramatic role play comes most naturally (see review in Gardner and Yaacob 2008). It does not expect participants to respond analytically or reflexively, but rather expects them to respond kinaesthetically and through familiar talk. As Shaaban (2000) points out, such a response is an appropriate demand for young learners of English.

RIRP is well suited to ethnographic research. It provides insights on emic perspectives, but should be triangulated with other data sources as role plays, being play and involving participants taking on roles in a play context, are ontologically distinct from the practices being investigated.

Data Collection Procedures

In each of four primary schools in Malaysia, two groups of four children volunteered or were selected by their teacher to be interviewed and to take part in role plays in English, with three groups also performing role plays in Malay. Each role play lasted fifteen to twenty minutes, with some groups performing more than one lesson. Seven groups were video recorded (the eighth group were shy and refused permission). These were four all girl groups, two all boy groups and one mixed group. The role plays were transcribed, with talk in Malay translated into English. In addition to one transcribed role play of Malaysian girls and boys aged 3-8 in the UK (UK), the data set includes role plays of seven year one English classes in Malaysia (ME) and three Malay classes (BM) with the same children, aged 6-7. In this study, RIRP is used to invite children to play school, something that many do naturally; it lends itself to working in single sex friendship groups (their choice), which is deemed an optimum grouping for participatory research with young learners. (Pinter and Zandian 2014:72).

Role plays were conducted in groups of four children, with reading materials available for props and the following prompt given by the researcher to initiate the role play:

> Let's pretend that some nursery children are coming to your class to see what it is like to be in Year 1. They don't know how to read so you have to teach them. One of you will pretend to be the teacher. Role play what happens in your English/ Malay/ Jawi classroom.

Nursery children were chosen as an audience as older children in many cultures do 'play school' and teach younger children; they are also a non-threatening imaginary audience and position the role players as experts with their knowledge and experience of school practices.

RRIP promotes socio-dramatic play that gives children space to take control of the interaction and determine the specifics of the role play without adult intervention. The space, the prompt and the props (books) provided by the researcher create an environment that positively enables the role play. All groups readily understood what they were asked to do, and when it was agreed who would be teacher, the action started. The children naturally switched in and out of play to comment on its performance or negotiate the direction.

In addition to the prompt, the props and the apparent familiarity of playing school, a further enabling feature was that the role plays took place away from the teacher and the rest of the class. This was initially done to find a quiet place to aid recording quality, where the camera could be set up in advance and the researcher could find an unobtrusive space to sit and take notes, but had the added benefit of removing distractions and audiences beyond the researcher. RIRP acknowledges the children's expert knowledge of the learning experience and sets up a communication gap between the children and the researcher, where the children are experts and the researcher wants to understand what they know. This helps to shift the balance of power, though the researcher as initiator remains an observing authority in the room.

In role plays, children switch frames from acting out to negotiating the script and can reveal classroom experiences previously hidden from researcher observation. RIRP allows researchers to see not only what learners have internalised about their learning experiences, but also to gain insights into how they evaluate these experiences. Gaining access to these previously hidden insights and evaluations raises questions over an ethical response to occluded practices revealed.

Dealing with Disruptive Behaviour in RIRP

In the role plays, the children use the books and demonstrate a range of literacy practices, most of which are variations of reading aloud, such as choral reading, reading in turn, repeating after the teacher. Children of course are not trained teachers, and while they can lead the class through a range of practices – with the help of other children who may step out of role to suggest 'what next' – after a while the children can get restless. In many of the role plays the children who were acting as pupils misbehaved. It was as if they wanted to show in the role play the whole range of interactions that occur in class. In other words, they misbehaved in ways that they knew happened in class, and the child playing teacher responded as the teacher would respond. For instance, we see teachers moving to stand next to the naughty children, or simply looking at them and waiting for them to resume the expected good behaviour. When this does not work, ear bends may be used as in this extract which begins when the class had been going well for about 8 minutes, but the activities are short, and there is a lot of time spent turning pages and looking for another text to practice with. These episodes start when the children seem to get bored with reading and start to play a clapping game. This meets with an ear bend punishment, during which the children look towards the camera and the researcher, perhaps to see if there will be a reaction (which there was not). . Later in the same lesson, the children who are not reading again decide to play up. Tina tries to distract Sophie, but she refuses to be drawn, as she is waiting for her turn to read. As a result, she is spared the punishment.

Extract 1. Ear bends for naughty children in Malaysia

		(Students start to play a clapping game while Teacher reads the textbook. She moves to the group)
59	Farra	**Diri atas kerusi!** < Stand on the chair!> (She holds Sofea's hand to help her stand. The other students stand up too.)
		(Teacher indicates to them to do 10 ear bends. They glance with nervous excitement towards the researcher and camera as they cross their arms, hold their ears and bend up and down ten times, counting one to ten**)**
63	Farra	**Nak sembang lagi?** < Do you still want to talk?>
64	All	**Tak nak dah!** <No!!>
65	Farra	**Hah duduk!** <Ok sit down!>
		(Teacher walks to the other side of the classroom)
88.	Sofea	**Baca sorangsoranglah**< read one by one>
89.	Farra	Ok.
91.	Tina	I CAN TOUCH LEAF I CAN SEE A BIRD I CAN SMELL CHICKEN
92.	Farra	Ok sit down. Ani (Ani stands up and reads)
93.	Ani	I CAN TOUCH LEAF I CAN SEE A BIRD I CAN SMELL CHICKEN
94.		(Tina holds Sofea's hand and insists nonverbally that she goes to the toilet with her)
95.	Sofea	**Pergilahsorangsorang kami nakbaca**. *<go by yourself. I want to read>*
96.		(Sofea stands up and reads)
97.	Sofea	I CAN TOUCH LEAF I CAN SEE A BIRD I CAN SMELL CHICKEN
98.		(Sofea is reading. Ani joins Tina at the back of the classroom playing hide-and seek. ….))
99.	Farra	**Dudukbacadudukbaca**!! < Sit down and read! Sit down and read!>
100.		(All of them sit quietly)
101.	Farra	**Bangun**! <Stand up! >
102.		(They all stand up, anticipating a punishment)
103.	Farra	**Kamusorangajeduduk**< only you can sit down> (saying to Sofea and she sits down) **Sekalilagi**!! <one more time>
104.	Tina	**Lagi! Huh**!! (the students express their frustration when being asked to hold their ears and bend up and down another ten times but they still obey the teacher's instruction.)

Although the ear bends punishment was easily recognised as a typical punishment by those familiar with Malaysian education and occurred in other role plays across the schools, it was a punishment that the researchers had not seen, and indeed when questioned the adult class teachers admitted they would try not to use such punishment when observers (researchers or inspectors) were present.

In England when the learners misbehaved again we see how disruptive behaviour is dealt with. The most usual way is to move the naughty child. Here teacher Leah reprimands Wan who being younger and from another class is probably not fully aware of the appropriate behaviour. When he wants to move about, Leah first tells him to sit on the carpet and threatens that otherwise she will move him to the wall by himself (51); when other children look at different reading material, she tells them to put it away, adding 'you can read that at home'. When further disruption occurs (59), she again chooses to move children, putting Wan back where he was originally and giving Nana a privileged spot next to herself as teacher.

Extract 2. Relocation for troublemakers in UK

49.	Nana	Start again. Again
50.		(Leah reads very slowly and stumbles in her reading as she has to read the story from top down while showing the book to the other children to see. The other children are giggling. Wan stands up and sits next to her on the sofa, looking at the book while she reads)
51.	Leah	Sit on the carpet. Come on sit on the carpet or I'll put you at that wall. Sit on the carpet. (Wan doesn't make any move. Leah continues with her reading) Sit on the carpet Wan.
52.		(Meanwhile the other children are talking about the other story books of their interest) XXX (inaudible)
53.	Leah	Put that away. Put that away! You can read that at home. (Nana grumbles and moves right in front of the teacher. Leah starts to make some comments about her behaviour. Nana moves back to her place)
54.		(Next Leah picks up another book- The Three Little Pigs)
55.	Nana	I can't see
56.		(Leah continues reading the Three Little Pigs)
57.	Wan	I can't see (Wan moves closer. Leah continues reading)
58.	Nana	Miss Leah Wan just XXXX (Wan is disturbing Nana)
59.	Leah	Put that away Wan. Wan put that away. (Wan is still playing with his pencil case. She stares at Wan but he just ignores her) Wan sit back at your own place. Nana you can sit there (pointing to a place on her right)

60.		(She continues reading. All the children sit closer to her this time because the book is small.)

As this extract suggests, the continuity of the role plays can break down in places either because the 'teacher' is not able to maintain the children's attention or because the children are less aware of shared norms. This points to differences in practices across classes in the same school.

Themes that emerge from the role play data can be explored in focus group interviews with the children. This provides a useful opportunity for evaluation and reflexivity, and we found this worked particularly well when children were from different classes, as with the UK group:

Extract 3. Interview with UK group

12.	I	**KelasSya**? *<what about your class Sya?>*
13.	Sya	**Kelas**Sya**kalaucikgumarahsangatbudaknakbercakapsangatdiaberhentiajebaca**<*in my class if the teacher is really angry when the children talk a lot she stops reading>*
14.	I	**Macam Leah buattadike?** *<like the way Leah did?>*
15.	Sya	**Takdiatutupbuku and bubuhbukutubalik** *<no she closes the book and puts it back (on the shelf)>*
16.	I	Nana Miss D
17.	Nana	Mrs H! (correcting) Mrs H. always reads the story or Mrs. W. If Mrs W see someone is lazy or lazying or something Mrs W will be very cross and she said go away don't go with me don't see the book.
18.	Wan	Mrs L. said if someone shout…My teacher said…
19.	I	What did your teacher say Wan?
20.	Wan	Mrs L said if somebody shout and then he hehe sit at the table
21.	I	Oh sit at the table

This discussion helps to explain why the action sometimes runs smoothly and at other times seems less fluent. Different teachers use different methods for managing disruptive behaviour in the UK. The role play can function as a stimulus for interview questions. It has raised the issue of what teachers do when learners do not conform to expected norms, but more than that, it has given the children a shared experience to discuss and to which they can relate their own experience.

When we compare the management of disruptive learners in the UK and in the Malaysian English classes, we notice that in the ME classes the disruptive behaviour is portrayed as fun, as mischief, as a site of excited tension. When we contrast this with the Malay classes (not exemplified here), we notice that they are very serious affairs.

Such comparisons of the role plays raise questions which we can investigate in observations. For example, are English classes usually sites of greater nervous tension than

Malay classes? This could be explained by the apprehension learners feel when they do not understand, or the excitement of learning English. Equally, why are the Malay classes so serious? Is it the specific teacher? Or the seriousness attached to learning to read – which is what children expect to learn at school, compared with learning English, an additional albeit important language in Malaysia. We notice in the UK role play that the teacher deliberately smiles warmly at the children as they enter the classroom.

	(Teacher Leah is sitting on a sofa waiting for the other children to come in. Children are giggling and playing joyfully at the hallway, waiting for the class to begin.)
3 Leah	Ring Ring (pause) Ring Ring (pause) Ring Ring (pause) Ring Ring
	(Children enter room and greet her)
	(Teacher smiles back and indicates where they should sit)
6 Sya	Hello (Sya enters classroom smiling)
	(Children sit in semi circle on carpet in front of Teacher)
7 Sya	Sit down. sit down. sit down (telling Nana)

Similar observations were not made for any of the Malaysian role plays. The 'teachers' are not unwelcoming, but it is not normal practice to welcome learners with smiles. Comparing role plays across contexts enables us to notice features such as these and consider their possible significance in the different contexts.

A limitation of the data collected is that we were not able to go back and to explore the disciplinary practices further with the teachers and children in the study. Our main focus had been on the literacy practices, and these were also the focus of interviews and focus groups. Our initial assumption, similar to that of the teachers, had also been that ear bends were perhaps not an appropriate focus for publication. We now challenge those assumptions.

Observer's Paradox

We initially interpreted RRIP and the ear bend revelations as a means of getting round the observer's paradox, which Richards (2003:108) sums up as follows: 'If people know they are being observed, they won't act normally'.

This paradox certainly applied to the teachers. When questioned, they were concerned that the children did not misbehave when observers were present, and the children generally colluded in this. This particular feature of observing in schools is widespread. The researcher who wants to observe what goes on in schools has to work hard to convince teachers and others that they are not there to judge or inspect, but to understand and learn. Even in the UK where primary school classrooms often find several adults working in the same room in different capacities and the addition of a researcher is less remarkable, the teacher generally introduces the newcomer often in my experience with words that are designed to bring out the best in learner behaviour (x has come from the university to find out about all the work that we are doing in class). Even if the teacher advises the class that work should continue as normal, as if the observer were not present, the physical presence of an outsider does change the classroom dynamics, particularly initially, and teachers may report afterwards that the children were 'quieter than usual' or 'better behaved than usual'. Without an extended period of time in the classroom, or alternative means of collecting information about 'usual' classroom interaction, the researcher may take such remarks at face value, or as a perception from the teacher that the children did not contribute to the lesson as much as they sometimes do. The extent to which the teachers feel they are responsible will vary with each teacher, and particularly when working with less experienced teachers, I would generally reassure the teacher that this is normal and then discuss ways to make the whole class more comfortable

with my presence. As a means of triangulation of findings, therefore, researcher initiated role play has proved a very good means of generating data about classroom interaction practices and mitigating the observer's paradox.

Occluded Classroom Practices

Whatever happens with the ear bending, however, is more than simply not acting normally. It is the demonstration of a previously unobserved practice. Here it is helpful to introduce the concept of 'occluded classroom practices'. This builds on Swales' work on occluded genres (1996), which are genres that are generally private and not intended to be published, yet may be crucial in the success of the individual writing them. In the last few decades there has been an opening up of some occluded genres, spurred on by the increase in social media and digital communication in general. For example, samples of student written assignments are readily available at universities; academic journals now share among reviewers the reviews of individual scholarly manuscripts; and personal statements of students applying for university can be examined on freely available websites. The spread and growing awareness of data protection legislation also means that occluded genres such as reference letters are now legally less occluded, which has resulted in some institutions advising staff to only provide 'factual' information in references. Precisely who benefits from these changes could be the focus of a useful study, but there is no doubt that the changes are taking place.

Although classrooms are often still the domain of a single teacher, there is more intrusion into what is permitted in classrooms, and they too are becoming increasingly public spaces. This has moved far beyond lessons being recorded for teacher training purposes and Teachers TV channels, to mainstream 'edutainment' programmes where 'life' in school is recorded and broadcast at peak viewing hours on national television. These general trends suggest that educational practices that were once occluded, and took place within the classroom unobserved by outsiders, are now increasingly subject to wider scrutiny. In educational circles, this is generally a healthy trend, promoting widening participation, increasing more democratic consensus building, and bringing occluded practices into the open where they can be discussed.

From a different perspective we could argue that when different groups perform for researchers, they enact the observer's paradox differently. What is subconsciously obscured by teachers is different to what learners will tend to obscure or omit. This suggests that children do not have the same understanding of what is acceptable to reveal to researchers as adults.

An alternative interpretation would be that it is the RIRP context that enables the earbends to be performed. As Blommaert, Collins and Slembrouck (2005: 213) argue in their critique of static views of linguistic and communicative competence, 'multilingualism is not what individuals have and don't have, but what the environment, as structured determinations and interactional emergence, enables and disables'. In other words, if the environment changes, it enables and disables different language. They go on to say that language is part of a wider semiotic complex that embraces participation frames, topics, genres of discourse, material and symbolic resources. From this perspective it makes perfect sense that putting children in a role play setting, with its actor and director participation frames, teacher and learner roles, literacy topics, regulatory and instructional classroom talk and the material setting complete with books will enable different language than that obtained from questionnaires, teacher interviews or observation. If we extend this view to include the research context and the researcher, we see that it is perhaps because the role play has been requested, rather than being participant initiated, that it does not evolve beyond around ten minutes in most cases and seems to conclude when the students think they have 'shown'

everything. This is in contrast to some child initiated role plays that may continue longer and over many days.

Ethical Responses to Revelations of Occluded Practices

Having uncovered occluded practice in the RIRP data, the ethical question about whether to ignore it or pursue it arose. In discussing ethics and qualitative inquiry (QI), Richards argues that 'Good QI discovers things about people they didn't know themselves, and might not want others to know … the ultimate arbiter of what is right and decent is your own conscience' (Richards 2003: 139)

In order to decide on an ethical response we asked a number of questions:

1. Is the nature of the occluded practice supported through triangulation?

As teachers acknowledged the practice, it was well known to the Malaysian researcher, and a number of RIRP groups across different schools included the practice in their role play, there was sufficient evidence to support the existence of ear bends as a classroom practice.

2. Is the occluded practice relevant to the research questions?

As the research questions focus on the comparison of literacy practices across languages, a narrow response might argue that occluded disciplinary practices are not relevant and therefore should be ignored. It is certainly possible to write about the contrasting literacy practices without mentioning the disciplining (Yaacob and Gardner 2012), so the question then becomes would their inclusion add to our understanding of literacy practices. Surprisingly perhaps, the answer to this question is yes. As we have seen above, the ear bends brought the researchers' attention to the playfulness found in role plays of English in Malaysia that was lacking in role plays of Malay. It directed the researchers to the welcoming smiles of the UK teachers and it contributed to a recognition of the tension and excitement around learning to read in English in the Malaysian context.

3. Is the inclusion of the occluded practice likely to cause harm to participants?

All the usual research procedures had been followed and consents obtained – participants knew they could withdraw from the study or ask for data not to be used. One group had not wanted to be recorded, for instance, but had permitted observation.

We considered whether making the practice public in academic publications would cause harm, and if so, to whom. If the children were to be blamed in some way for demonstrating ear bends, it would be by the teachers. With the anonymity built into the data collection across the schools, with the same procedures being used in all schools, and ear bends occurring in role plays from different schools, it would not be possible to apportion specific 'blame' or any ensuing harm.

Others who might be 'harmed' are the teachers who employ the practice, and the Malaysian researcher for writing about it. It was therefore important to discuss it with the teachers, who were at first surprised and concerned in that it is a practice they recognised but would not normally display in front of observers. Reasons for this circle around notions that good teachers would have well behaved children in their classes who would not need such disciplining; or that the specific punishment, as a local practice, is not an appropriate way of disciplining.

We understood these feelings, but did not share them. There are positive aspects to the practice. Young children get restless sitting in lessons, this allows them to stand up and move

so that when they return to the lesson they can settle and concentrate better. As a physical punishment it is infinitely preferable to corporal punishment where children are beaten. In addition, although there may be some negative feelings attached to being identified for punishment, as it appears to be quickly administered, often to groups of children rather than to individuals, and then forgotten, there appears to be little lasting impact.

Here we can compare the discipline administered in the role plays situated in Malaysia with those situated in schools in England. In the UK context, the punishment included standing by the wall and being withdrawn from reading.

This allows us to contrast the Malaysian response to the restless nature of young children and the benefits of getting up and moving (although arguably all children might benefit from this and the punishment is in being identified as not conforming to teacher expectation in contrast to the rest of the class), with the English construal of reading as a pleasure and a privilege to be withheld from those who do not meet teacher expectations of good behaviour. Both practices have their merits, and both share the practice of identifying those who do not meet expectations and disrupting their engagement with the lesson.

With these interpretations of the data, we therefore feel that sharing descriptions of these practices is of general interest, is not harmful to children or teachers, and therefore is ethically appropriate. It serves to focus questions of discipline away from the nature of punishment to broader questions about the value of singling out children for negative attention, as seen in both contexts.

4. Would there be benefits to publishing details of the occluded practices?

We have argued that there would be no harm or repercussions for the children who demonstrated ear bends, or for the teachers whose discussion of the practice is minimal. In both cases the anonymity is fully guaranteed. But lack of harm is not reason to publish.

We have also argued that discussion of ear bends has led to understandings about the nature of learning to read in English vs in Malay, i.e. to findings that are relevant to the research question.

The publication of a paper on ear bends and discipline would have several advantages. By naming the practice and writing about it in scholarly journals, it would become a legitimate topic for discussion in teacher training programmes. This might lead to teachers taking a more open stance in relation to ear bends and either using them openly or replacing them with alternative ways of managing the class. Arguably, either of these outcomes would be better than teachers feeling embarrassed to discuss ear bends with researchers, either outcome would be consistent with the general opening up of occluded practices to wider scrutiny, and it is not the purpose of this paper to endorse or attack the use of specific occluded practices, but rather to present them as options to consider.

Conclusion

It is certainly not only children who reveal occluded practices to researchers, but they may do so quite innocently – they are keen to please the researchers, to give them rich insights into their world – and this enthusiasm may lead to them exaggerating their accounts, or revealing occluded practices. This in turn puts responsibility on the researchers to handle this potentially sensitive information with due respect.

Steps taken in this study include

a) an investigation into how widespread knowledge of the occluded practice is, through triangulation of evidence;

b) an investigation into whether there are reasons for its being occluded that would advise against including it in the research findings;

c) an interpretation of its meaning in context, through naming the practice and making it an object of investigation, and through contrasting it with other responses to similar situations. In our context, this possibility was built into the research design.

d) a question of whether it was relevant to the original research questions.

e) a question of whether the research method and its implementation were at fault.

f) a distancing in space and time from the data collection to increase the guarantee of anonymity.

g) a commitment to consider children epistemologically not only as those who play, but also people whose 'knowledge and voices are recognised, valued and given epistemic and linguistic privilege' (Maguire 2005: 36).

h) a decision to publish and thus initiate conditions where it could become a much less occluded practice, that could be used with less trepidation and more understanding of its risks and potential, or could be used less frequently as viable culturally appropriate alternatives emerge.

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TRANSCRIPTION CONVENTIONS

Bold–Bahasa Malaysia
Normal–English
〈*italic*〉–English translation
(laughs) –non-verbal behaviour
(pause)–pause for a few seconds
CAPITAL LETTERS–reading from the text
XXX–unclear talk
[ ] overlapping talk
I = Interviewer
T = Teacher
Ss = Students

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